

# Monks and Ministers after 1560

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There are two questions of perennial interest to students of the Scottish Reformation: what happened to the personnel of the old church, and where did the personnel of the new church come from? It is of course well-trodden ground,<sup>1</sup> so the aim of this paper is to take certain monastic communities whose numbers in 1560 can be determined with some accuracy and to put into context of the community those of its members who became readers or ministers. The word "monk" is interpreted strictly: canons are not included. The paper will deal with five of the ten independent Benedictine houses, two of the ten Cistercian abbeys and the one charterhouse.

The Border monastery of Melrose is taken first, as its community during the decades before 1560 can be established with accuracy.<sup>2</sup> There is, however, a basic problem. The principal sources of information about the size of a community are documents, usually feu charters, signed by the monks. At Melrose 26 signed in 1519, and 21 in 1535. It is only too easy to conclude that numbers had declined. But there were three monks in the community who did not sign in 1519,<sup>3</sup> and seven in 1535;<sup>4</sup> numbers were therefore not 26 and 21, but 29 and 28. One needs to build up a card index of the first and last dates for each individual monk; then, if a document within those dates is not signed by him, he must be added to determine the size of the community.

There are two riders to this. Firstly, the printed records have to be checked with the original where possible, and almost invariably odd men who appear once turn out to be well authenticated monks whose signatures have been misread. Secondly, a new document cannot diminish a known life-span but can extend it. This happens again and again, so that almost invariably the more

<sup>1</sup> For the reformed church see *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, ed. Hew Scott, vols. 1-8 (new edn. 1915-50); C. H. Haws, *Scottish Parish Clergy at the Reformation, 1540-1574* (Scottish Record Society, 1972). I should like to express my indebtedness to the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, University of Edinburgh, as the work on the monastic communities was done during the tenure of a fellowship there.

<sup>2</sup> The Earl of Haddington kindly put at my disposal his Melrose charter chest containing bundles of documents and various manuscript volumes; the latter are transcribed with varying fullness and accuracy in *Melr. Recs.* 3, 148-471. The originals are cited here as Hadd./Melr. I wish to record my gratitude, as my work on Melrose relies greatly on them, not least in checking and amending the printed transcripts.

<sup>3</sup> Fraser, *Buccleuch*, 134. The three not signing are found in 1512 and 1534 (see below).

<sup>4</sup> SRO, RH 6/1107, where Robert Darling signs twice. The seven not signing are found in 1527 (see below) and 1537 (Hadd./Melr. Bundle 5, 4.3.1536/7).

documents one finds, the larger does the community become, until the law of diminishing returns begins to operate. The figures given should therefore be considered the minimum, unless otherwise stated.

### *Melrose*

There were at least 27 monks in 1512,<sup>5</sup> 35 in 1527 (34 signing plus one known to be alive),<sup>6</sup> 31 in 1534 (29 plus two).<sup>7</sup> At Melrose the quite extraordinary picture emerges that between 1527 and 1557 no new recruit signs;<sup>8</sup> in other words, there was a steady decline during those 30 years as the older monks died. Thus there were 19 in 1541,<sup>9</sup> 15 in 1553.<sup>10</sup> The war in 1545, both the skirmish at Melrose in the spring and the burning of the abbey by the English in September,<sup>11</sup> did not affect the numbers much.

In 1556 the matter came to a head. From the annual accounts of that year we learn that there were 12 monks at the Martinmas term before "the novices war receyvit". They were "eldering" and at least one lived in the infirmary. By the Whitsun term there were 16 including novices.<sup>12</sup> This was the number decided on by the commendator and in June 1556 the community was complaining to him that an aspirant had not been admitted to make up the 16 after the last father died.<sup>13</sup> There is a reference to the sustentation of 16 monks the following year,<sup>14</sup> and five new signatures are found from then on.<sup>15</sup>

No other recruits appear and in 1560 there were perhaps 15 monks: the five young men and about ten much older. The youngest of the latter group had been signing monastic documents for 33 years and was aged 50 if he was 17 in 1527. Portions were given to 13 monks in 1562, to 12 in 1563.<sup>16</sup> The reason why Melrose

<sup>5</sup> SRO, RH 6/789.

<sup>6</sup> Hadd./Melr. Bundle 10, 4.10.1527; SRO, GD 150/1449. John Herwod signs in 1512 and 1534 (see below).

<sup>7</sup> *Melr. Recs.* 3, 365; *Melr. Lib.* 629-30 (where for Davart read Cavart). Bellenden and Philp sign in 1527 and 1537. I have not found the charter of 1534 with 34 names, mentioned by Dr Marguerite Wood in the official guide-book to Melrose Abbey (HMSO, 1949), 37. Nor does one know if G. G. Coulton's figure for 1534 in *Scottish Abbeys and Social Life* (1933), 49 is made up from signatures only.

<sup>8</sup> The John Paterson who occurs once only, in 1536 (SRO, NP 1/196, fo 31) is surely John Watson.

<sup>9</sup> *Melr. Recs.* 3, 225 with six found in 1553 (see below).

<sup>10</sup> Hadd./Melr. Bundle 10, 13.1.1552/3; *ibid.* Vol. C, fo 124 (signatures omitted in *Melr. Recs.* 3, 388).

<sup>11</sup> *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, 20, pts. 1 and 2, *passim*.

<sup>12</sup> SRO, CH 8/18, fos 2v, 6v; *Melr. Recs.* 3, 155, 157, 161.

<sup>13</sup> *Melr. Recs.* 3, 218.

<sup>14</sup> SRO, CS 7/16, fo 63.

<sup>15</sup> Signed documents of the mid 1550s and 1560s are plentiful in *Melr. Recs.* 3 and need not be cited.

<sup>16</sup> *Thirds of Benefices*, 157, 281. John Watson, junior, has been included in the latter figure.

is so well documented around 1560 is that a monastic protocol book of the late 1550s has survived,<sup>17</sup> as have various financial accounts. Also, in the early 1560s the abbey revenues were administered by the Collector General of Thirds.<sup>18</sup> We thus have various external checks and additions to the usual process of noting signatures. No other monastery to my knowledge is so well documented in this regard.

There are three monks whom one might try to identify with ministers or readers after 1560. James Ramsay, one of the five young monks, is found at Melrose until 1574 but seems unlikely to be any of the three kirkmen of that name.<sup>19</sup> Thomas Halliwell, another of the five, is found at Melrose until 1584;<sup>20</sup> since it is not a common name, he is surely to be identified as the Thomas Halliwell who was reader at Melrose from 1574 to 1586.<sup>21</sup> He was dead that autumn and probably died in office. We can take it as practically certain that he lived all the time in his monastic quarters.

The minister at Melrose in 1568-69 was John Watson and two monks of that name were in Melrose after 1560; it is very reasonable to identify the minister as one of the monks<sup>22</sup> but it would seem to be wrong. The older John Watson signs at Melrose from 1524,<sup>23</sup> was subprior from 1555 and died between January and March 1569.<sup>24</sup> John Watson junior was one of the new recruits; he was among the priests cited before the Council at Kelso in October 1569, apparently for exercising his priesthood in some way,<sup>25</sup> and he is found in documents, sometimes called pensioner or portion of Melrose, until August 1600.<sup>26</sup> Having outlived all his brethren for at least 14 years,<sup>27</sup> he was apparently still alive in June 1601 when the vicarage of Cavers, a church appropriated to Melrose, was vacant by his demission<sup>28</sup> (and not by his decease). But

<sup>17</sup> Hadd./Melr. Vol. A, fo 41. The volume is unbound and is transcribed in *Melr. Recs.* 3, 148 ff in what may not have been the original sequence.

<sup>18</sup> *Thirds of Benefices*, xvi, xx, xxiv.

<sup>19</sup> SRO, RD 1/13, fo 399v; Haws, *Clergy*, 304.

<sup>20</sup> Hadd./Melr. Vol. C, fo 46v (signatures omitted in *Melr. Recs.* 3, 354).

<sup>21</sup> These dates are correct in Scott, *Fasti*. Halliwell is not found in SRO, E 48/2, fo 51 but is found in SRO, E 47/1-3. The early date in Haws, *Clergy*, 177, is due to a mistinterpretation of *Reg. Min.* For Halliwell's death see no. 27 below.

<sup>22</sup> As suggested in Haws, *Clergy*, 177, 319.

<sup>23</sup> Hadd./Melr. Vol. B, fo 13v (*Melr. Recs.* 3, 251 omits Watson's name and gives the date wrongly as 1574).

<sup>24</sup> Hadd./Melr. Vol. C, fo 50 (*Melr. Recs.* 3, 361 has the old-style date and omits the signatures); Hadd./Melr. Bundle 3, 16.3.1568/9.

<sup>25</sup> *RPC* 2, 40-41.

<sup>26</sup> E.g. *Melr. Recs.* 3, 333; Hadd./Melr. Bundle 2, 28.8.1600.

<sup>27</sup> He signed on 6th Sept. 1586 as "only convent": Hadd./Melr. Vol. C, fo 82 (signature omitted in *Melr. Recs.* 3, 370); SRO, GD 114, Bundle 8, no. 3 (see *Melr. Recs.* 3, 377, n. 37).

<sup>28</sup> SRO, PS 1/72, fo 76v. Haws, *Clergy*, 40 misreads Scott, *Fasti* for the date of this.



apparently neither John Watson was the minister, for in July 1568 and January 1569 both signed documents in which John Watson, minister of Melrose, is named as a witness.<sup>29</sup> Incidentally, the bailie to whom precepts of sasine were addressed by commendator and convent in 1589 was also John Watson,<sup>30</sup> and John Watson was a feuar of Melrose land in 1576.<sup>31</sup>

### *Coldingham*

This house became a monastery again after a considerable interval in 1488. We have documentation on numbers from 1519 on.<sup>32</sup> There were ten monks that year, nine in 1537, 11 in 1543. The destruction of the war in the early 1540s is no doubt the reason why no new name appears after 1543. By 1560 six monks were left: one was elderly, two had been signing since 1536 and three since 1543. It was a situation hardly promising much religious activity, but one monk John Lun was cited for exercising his priesthood in 1569 and another served in the Kirk. William Hood, who signed from 1536 and was subprior from 1550, can with reasonable probability be identified as the reader of that name at Stitchill in 1574; the name is not too common and Stitchill was a church appropriated to Coldingham, though over 20 miles away. Hood was reader from 1574 to 1577, when he was described on 1st May (the middle point of the financial year) as deprived.<sup>33</sup> He may also be the William Hood, reader at Ednam 1580-91,<sup>34</sup> who is unaccountably omitted by Scott's *Fasti*. Ednam too was a church appropriated to Coldingham.

One can reach the general conclusion that the Border monasteries were unlikely to, and in fact did not, provide many men serving in the new Kirk. The third Border monastery, Kelso, had a catastrophic drop in numbers during the warfare of the 1540s, which placed it in a similar situation.

### *Perth Charterhouse*

Charterhouses are built for multiples of 12 choir-monks, in

<sup>29</sup> *Melr. Recs.* 3, 364n; Hadd./Melr. Bundle 2, 4.7.1568; *ibid.* Bundle 4, 4.7.1568; *ibid.* Vol. C, fo 50 (see n. 24). It should be noted, however, that the minister does not appear after the death of John Watson, senior, and that John Watson, junior, signed a document as a conventual in which he was named, as John Watson, portioner of Melrose, a witness (see no. 27).

<sup>30</sup> E.g. Hadd./Melr. Bundle 3, 24.5.1589.

<sup>31</sup> SRO, RD 1/18/1, fo 8.

<sup>32</sup> For Coldingham see M. Dilworth, "Coldingham Priory and the Reformation", *Innes Review* 23 (1972) 133-37. Other references are supplementary to this.

<sup>33</sup> SRO, E 47/1, 1576, fo 49v. These dates are correct in Scott, *Fasti*; Hood is not found in SRO, E 48/2, fo 14v. Haws, *Clergy*, 225 needs correction (see n. 21 above).

<sup>34</sup> SRO, E 47/2-5.

units of 12 self-contained small houses opening off the interior of a large cloister quadrangle. One finds monasteries of either one, two or three such units. The Perth house was founded in 1426 for 13 monks,<sup>35</sup> which surely means a prior plus 12. Carthusian laybrothers live a life which is stricter in degree than in most other monasteries, but choir-monks, who are usually ordained to the priesthood, lead a life which is different not only in degree but in kind: they are hermits living in community.

We know exact numbers in the house in 1478: the prior, 14 choir-monks, one novice and two laybrothers.<sup>36</sup> This is slightly above strength and I suggest that the prior, his vicar and the procurator were living in rooms outside the great cloister. We find prior and 12 monks in 1529,<sup>37</sup> the same in 1544,<sup>38</sup> prior plus ten in 1558.<sup>39</sup> Documents are scarce in the 1550s; possibly all 12 cells were occupied. In May 1559 the charterhouse was destroyed; the chroniclers all agree about the fact, and documents thereafter are dated at Erroll and speak of the monastery as formerly near Perth. One document grants a lodging to two brethren because of the lack of their own place in the charterhouse.<sup>40</sup>

Of the 11 monks in 1560 (the prior Adam Forman is included, as he was a genuine monk) one died that year and four went to charterhouses abroad.<sup>41</sup> The six who remained described themselves in 1565 as "the convent now beand present in the realme".<sup>42</sup> Of these six the prior and Walter Towris went to continental charterhouses after February 1567,<sup>43</sup> leaving four. There is no further information about one of them, James Meik. Another was Adam Stewart, illegitimate son of James V, who seems to have entered the charterhouse as a monk and then after 1560 attempted to call himself prior and was granted a pension from the revenues.<sup>44</sup> The remaining monks were Andrew Blythman and James Sim, the two who were granted a lodging; two men with these names are found in the Perth Kirk session records as elder and deacon respectively<sup>45</sup> and may well be the same.

John Sim, reader at Strathcathro, has been identified as a former monk of Perth.<sup>46</sup> Two monks of that name signed in 1544, adding

<sup>35</sup> For an outline of its history see Easson, *Religious Houses*, 73.

<sup>36</sup> E. M. Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England* (1930) 248.

<sup>37</sup> SRO, GD 79/4/80. Notes on many of the documents in GD 79 are to be found in NLS, Adv. 29.4.2, Vol. 7.

<sup>38</sup> SRO, GD 79/2/58.

<sup>39</sup> SRO, GD 79/2/73, with two found in 1544 and after 1558 (see no. 41).

<sup>40</sup> SRO, GD 79/2/76.

<sup>41</sup> For monks dying in or after 1560, at home or abroad, see *Innes Review*, 19 (1968) 168-69.

<sup>42</sup> SRO, GD 79/2/76.

<sup>43</sup> SRO, RH 6/2075; RSS 5, 3435; 6, 297.

<sup>44</sup> SRO, RD 1/5, fo 129v; RSS 5, 915; 6, 963; 7, 2316.

<sup>45</sup> *Perth Bk.*, 123, 135, 142, 144; *Spottiswoode Misc.*, 2, 239.

<sup>46</sup> Haws, *Clergy*, 310.

senior and junior respectively; only one signs thereafter and adds nothing. This is surely the John Sim who signs as procurator from 1551 to 1558<sup>47</sup> and he is clearly the John Seyn(?), former procurator of the house in Scotland, who died in a charterhouse abroad in 1567. The reader John Sim, being still in office in 1574, cannot be the same man and indeed there seems to be no reason for the identification beyond their having the same fairly common name.

### *Kilwinning*

There were 16 monks in 1532,<sup>48</sup> 17 in 1544,<sup>49</sup> 12 in 1557.<sup>50</sup> We know for certain of only eight who survived August 1560, but then evidence is not plentiful. Two of them served in the reformed Kirk.<sup>51</sup>

William Kirkpatrick is found as a monk from 1544. The man of that name who was minister in Kilwinning from 1563 until his death in 1577 is the same, for a document explicitly calls him minister at Kilwinning "and ane of the monkis thair of".<sup>52</sup> In 1567 the abbot and chapter made over what was apparently his monk's portion of victual and money as a pension to him and his wife and heirs; then the following year the abbot and chapter feued a chamber and yard in the abbey to him and his wife, or the longer living of the two, and their heirs. So his kirk was the nave of the abbey church, and his manse a monk's quarters in the monastery; he signed as a member of chapter until 1574. Four years after his death his widow was still receiving the same pension, for she complained about the commendator taxing it at source, and in 1585 the Crown confirmed it to her and their son.<sup>53</sup>

Alexander Henderson is found as a monk from 1554. A man of his name was exhorter at Ardrossan in 1567, then at Stewarton in 1572; he was presented to the vicarage of Kilmaurs in 1574 and was reader there until 1597. The earlier exhorter can confidently be identified as the monk: his two churches were about four and eight miles respectively from Kilwinning and both were appropriated to the abbey; when he disappears a reader of the same name appears at Kilmaurs, which is about seven miles from Kilwinning; and this reader is explicitly called a monk of Kilwin-

<sup>47</sup> SRO, GD 112/2/18, 45; GD 79/2/70, 73.

<sup>48</sup> *Ayr-Galloway Coll.* 1 (1878) 186.

<sup>49</sup> SRO, GD 3/724, fos 4v, 10v.

<sup>50</sup> *Ayr-Galloway Coll.* 1, 208.

<sup>51</sup> This section relies greatly on the article by Dr M. H. B. Sanderson, "Kilwinning at the time of the Reformation and its first minister, William Kirkpatrick", *Ayrshire Coll.* 10 (1970-72) 101-29. References below are supplementary to this.

<sup>52</sup> *RPC* 3, 409.

<sup>53</sup> SRO, CH 4/1/2, fo 127.



ning when in 1588 he made over his monk's portion to his son David.<sup>54</sup>

Henderson kept the liferent of the pension for himself and was still alive in 1598 when the vicarage of Kilmaurs, vacant by his demission or deprivation, was presented to the same son, with the direction that he was to be examined on his fitness to be a minister.<sup>55</sup> It suggests strongly that someone thought it time the old man gave way to the younger, and David Henderson in fact became the first minister of Kilmaurs.

A clear picture emerges at Kilwinning. Kirkpatrick, a minister, continued to live in the abbey, served the local parish and had the oversight of two nearby kirks as well; by arrangement with the community he had security for himself and his widow and children. Henderson, a reader in nearby parishes, no doubt lived in the abbey, then on being presented with a vicarage not far away may have lived there but had no difficulty in taking up his monk's portion.

### *Coupar Angus*

There were 28 monks in 1521 (and the document explicitly terms this "everilkane"),<sup>56</sup> 24 in 1539, 20 in 1545, 20 in 1558 and 1559.<sup>57</sup> Two men appear first in the 1540s and seven in the 1550s, which implies a fairly normal age spread with a considerable young element.

James Anderson was a monk from 1558 and a James Anderson was minister at Bendochy, Cargill, Collace and Kettins in the years 1567-80<sup>58</sup> (though not in all these charges all the time). Despite the common name the identification is fairly certain: the churches were within six miles of Coupar Angus and eight of each other, and a minister James Anderson got a pension from the abbey.

Anderson's career can be followed. He doubtless continued to live in the abbey; then, when presented to the vicarage of Collace in 1573, either there or the abbey. He signed monastic documents in 1574 and 1581. In 1581 he received a pension from the abbey, almost certainly in lieu of his portion, and the next year demitted his vicarage.<sup>59</sup> This was as a preparation for flitting, for he became minister at Stirling in 1582. He stayed in Stirling eight years,

<sup>54</sup> SRO, E 2/15, fo 238; SRO, PS 1/58, fo 69v; 1/63, fo 38v. A suggested other identification in Haws, *Clergy*, 130, 280 can be discarded.

<sup>55</sup> SRO, PS 1/70, fo 6.

<sup>56</sup> SRO, GD 45/16/3049. This is the document imperfectly transcribed in *Spalding Misc.* 5, 294 and *Coupar Angus Rental* 1, 97.

<sup>57</sup> *Coupar Angus Chrs.* 2, 154-62, etc. References to this well-indexed volume will not be given.

<sup>58</sup> Inspection of SRO, E 48/2 would seem to show that Anderson had been at Bendochy since 1567 and was in receipt of a different stipend "sen November 1569" (fo 22) when he took on Kettins also (fos 18v, 19v).

<sup>59</sup> SRO, CH 4/1/2, fo 81.

during which time his name was included when an action was raised against the Coupar Angus community (1584) and the pension from the abbey was confirmed to him and his wife (1587).<sup>60</sup> In 1590 he moved back to Kettins, a mile and a half from Coupar Angus, and was minister there until his death in 1603. Though I have found no signed documents for the years 1553-58 and Anderson may therefore have been professed at any time during that interval, he was probably quite young in 1560 and possibly was not ordained priest.

James Anderson wrote a didactic poem, a kind of sermon in verse, entitled *The Winter Night* and dedicated to John Erskine of Dun, superintendent in the Kirk.<sup>61</sup> There is no doubt about Anderson's acceptance of the Reformation, for the language and substance are strongly anti-papist: for him the Reformation had dawned after a night that was lang and teuch and dreich. It was written when James VI was king but not yet married or come of perfect age, that is, 1567-87. The author styles himself minister of Collace, and I suggest that it was written in the years 1573-82 when he held the vicarage and perhaps resided there.

The abbey also provided two readers. Robert Drysdale appears as a monk in 1558 and signs monastic documents until 1574, and a man of that name was reader at Bendochy in 1571-76.<sup>62</sup> Since the name is not too common, and Bendochy was an appropriated church and only two miles away, the identification is reasonably certain. Bendochy at this time was one of the churches under the oversight of James Anderson.

Another monk, Andrew Moncur, first appears in 1545 and signs at Coupar Angus until 1578. A man of the same name was reader at Blairgowrie in 1574-80 and was presented to the vicarage pensionary there in 1576. It was vacant by his death in 1586.<sup>63</sup> Again identification is reasonably certain: a not-too-common name, and a kirk only four miles from the abbey.

There was also a monk Alexander Anderson who signs from 1539 to 1586. He has been identified with the reader of that name at Kilbride and Kincardine in 1574,<sup>64</sup> but there seems no reason for it beyond the name. The name is common, the churches were 40 miles from the abbey and not appropriated, and the monk was well over 50 in 1574. He signed twice at Coupar Angus, in March and December 1574, the year when he was listed as reader (though it must be added that men in fairly distant charges did often sign monastic documents, however it was arranged). But why should

<sup>60</sup> SRO, E 2/14, fo 75v.

<sup>61</sup> Copies in NLS published c. 1614 and 1713.

<sup>62</sup> The earlier date given in Scott, *Fasti* 8, 472, for his receipt of a stipend from the local sub-collector of Thirds is incorrect; his name is not listed in 1568-69, the only previous years for which accounts are extant (SRO, E 46/3/3, E 46/9).

<sup>63</sup> SRO, CH 4/1/2, fo 157v.

<sup>64</sup> Haws, *Clergy*, 251.



one identify the monk as the reader? On the same grounds it might be claimed that various other monks were one or other of the kirkmen bearing their name.

The picture at Coupar Angus is of a minister serving churches in the locality, moving away with a pension from the abbey and then returning as minister to the near neighbourhood. For a time he was assisted by another conventual as reader, while a third man assisted another local minister as reader. I make the suggestion that the reason for being a reader rather than a minister was not lack of education, as is often stated. It may have been that the degree of commitment was insufficient for the labour involved in full-time ministry. Very often, as at Coupar Angus, a reader lived in the monastery, where he had his portion and quarters, and either received a stipend or held a local benefice besides. A minister in the same financially secure situation was nevertheless fully committed, as we can see was the case with James Anderson composing his sermon in verse.

### *Arbroath*

The evidence for numbers at Arbroath is good in patches. There were 27 at least in 1512,<sup>65</sup> 26 in 1527,<sup>66</sup> 27 again in 1543.<sup>67</sup> From 1546 to 1557 there is an undocumented gap of 11 years, then in 1558 we find 22 monks who all survive 1560.<sup>68</sup>

Each of the monks to be mentioned signed first in 1557-58, which means that they entered any time after 1546. The first is Ninian Clement. The minister of that name in 1563-69 at St Vigeans (that is, Arbroath parish) is clearly the name: it is an uncommon name and in an Arbroath protocol book a Ninian Clement appears first as a monk, then as a minister, then with his wife Helen Strachan.<sup>69</sup> He was transferred to Forfar in 1573,<sup>70</sup> was minister there in 1574, but his successor was in office by November 1576. He did however sign a monastic document the following spring.<sup>71</sup>

Thomas Lindsay was exhorter or reader at St Vigeans in 1563-78 and was explicitly termed reader and monk in 1570 on

<sup>65</sup> *Arbroath Liber* 2, 410, with John Dumbreck found before (*ibid.* 298-99) and in 1527.

<sup>66</sup> *Laing Chrs.* 360, with eight men found in 1512 (where for Ueche read Neche) and then in 1529 (SRO, GD 28/445; *Yester Writs*, 445 mis-transcribes Durwart as Ewart, and Alex. Scot as Andrew) or 1540 (SRO, GD 1/202/7) or 1543.

<sup>67</sup> SRO, RH 6/1317.

<sup>68</sup> *Laing Chrs.* 684; Prot. Bk. William Pettillok, fo 67v, with John Anderson found in 1544 (*Arbroath Liber* 2, p. xxxiii) and 1562 (SRO, RH 6/1883). I am most grateful to Mr John Ouchterlony of the Guynd, who kindly deposited Pettillok's protocol book in Register House for me to consult. It covers the years 1556-64 in the town of Arbroath.

<sup>69</sup> Prot. Bk. Pettillok, fos 67v, 171, 182, 220.

<sup>70</sup> G. Hay, *History of Arbroath* (2nd edn. 1899), 194.

<sup>71</sup> SRO, RH 6/2430.

being appointed collector for the eleemosinary of Arbroath by the commendator.<sup>72</sup> His successor as reader was presented to the vicarage of Arbroath in March 1578<sup>73</sup> and was in office by 1579, but Lindsay continued to sign monastic documents until 1585.<sup>74</sup>

Thomas Gormok signs no monastic document after 1562,<sup>75</sup> and a man of that name was minister at Rescobie near Forfar, about 12 miles away, in 1563-69. The name is uncommon, so identification is pretty certain. Thomas Gormok was minister at Fyvie in Aberdeenshire in 1574; again identification is pretty certain, as a man with an uncommon name disappears from Rescobie and appears at Fyvie, and Fyvie was an appropriated church and former cell of Arbroath. It is possible that Fyvie would be a natural place for an Arbroath monk to go to. Gormok was minister on 11th November 1577 when he was cited as a witness,<sup>76</sup> but his successor was in office the following year.

A fourth man, Nicholas Howeson, was minister in 1563-69 at Dunnichen near Forfar, about ten miles from Arbroath. Identification is fairly certain, as it is not a common name and Dunnichen was an appropriated church of Arbroath. Nicholas Howeson was minister at Auldearn and Nairn in 1574 and again identification is fairly certain as a minister of uncommon name simultaneously disappears from one place and appears in another. 1574 is also the last date of his signing a monastic document,<sup>77</sup> which fits in, as Nairn is so far from Arbroath. He was minister there until 1580, then there is a gap in the records of ministers, and the next lists in 1585 show his successor in office.

The last man, David Black, was minister at Kirriemuir and Kingoldrum from Candlemas 1571/2<sup>78</sup> and was presented to the vicarage of Kingoldrum in 1580. Identification is reasonable in spite of the name being so common, as both churches are about 20 miles from Arbroath and both were appropriated. Black continued to sign Arbroath documents until 1580.<sup>79</sup> By 1585 Kirriemuir had a minister of its own; Black remained at Kingoldrum and was there the following year,<sup>80</sup> but by May 1588 he was dead and his successor held both his charge and his vicarage.<sup>81</sup> In 1595

<sup>72</sup> Hay, 194-95.

<sup>73</sup> *RSS* 7, 1508. He was not a monk, as Scott, *Fasti* 5, 423 (perhaps following Hay, 195) suggests.

<sup>74</sup> SRO, RH 6/2788.

<sup>75</sup> SRO, RH 6/1883.

<sup>76</sup> SRO, CS 7/68, fo 383.

<sup>77</sup> *Laing Chrs.* 929.

<sup>78</sup> SRO, E 48/2, fo 19; *Reg. Min.* 19. The date in Haws, *Clergy*, 138. 153 should be amended.

<sup>79</sup> Edinburgh University Library, Laing Charters, Box 10, no. 336. The signature can be read under the ultra-violet lamp; it is described as illegible in *Laing Chrs.* 1005.

<sup>80</sup> SRO, CH 4/1/2, fo 145.

<sup>81</sup> SRO, PS 1/57, fos 106v, 113v; SRO, E 2/14, fo 130. This and the preceding note supplement SRO, E 47/3-4.

his widow was still claiming part of his stipend not paid him before his death.<sup>82</sup>

It has been suggested that John White, reader at Gamrie near Banff in 1570, was a monk of Arbroath.<sup>83</sup> A John White signed at Arbroath from 1557 to 1564<sup>84</sup> but there is no reason for suggesting the identification of the monk as this particular reader except that Gamrie was an appropriated church of Arbroath. To put the matter, and the identification of David Black above, into perspective, there were at Arbroath in 1560 a John Anderson, a Thomas Scott and a John White (all common names) but there seem to be no positive reasons for identifying any of them with any of the readers or ministers of the same name.

With four ministers and a reader, Arbroath made quite a contribution to the new Kirk. There were a minister and reader in Arbroath itself, and all four ministers then worked in the region round Forfar: in Forfar itself, Kirriemuir and Kingoldrum, Dunnichen, Rescobie. Two of them then went north. The reader stayed in Arbroath but the ministers were mobile; perhaps they changed their portions into realisable pensions before moving, though no evidence of this has come to light.

### *Lindores*

This abbey made an outstanding contribution to the reformed Kirk. Twenty-five monks signed in 1532<sup>85</sup> and there were 24 in 1538.<sup>86</sup> After 1546 no more than 19 or 20 signed: 19 that year,<sup>87</sup> 20 in 1552,<sup>88</sup> 19 in 1555.<sup>89</sup> Five monks are not found until after 1560: one of them in fact signs no document before 1580,<sup>90</sup> while another signs no document at all but is mentioned as a deceased monk. I have not come across any other case of a Scottish monk found after 1560 who is not found before that date: the 1555 figure is therefore very possibly not the full community. There were plenty of younger men in Lindores: four who first appear in 1552 and the five found after 1560. The latter did not necessarily take their vows after the date of the last document in 1555, though this is the obvious inference, but most probably they were young and perhaps were not ordained priests.

<sup>82</sup> A. D. O. Wedderburn, *The Wedderburn Book* (1898) 1, 85.

<sup>83</sup> Haws, *Clergy*, 320, where John White, minister of Fintray, is omitted from the alphabetical list.

<sup>84</sup> SRO, RH 6/1941.

<sup>85</sup> Fraser, *Keir*, 349.

<sup>86</sup> SRO, NP 1/196, fos. 60v-61, with Alex. Richardson found in 1532 and 1546.

<sup>87</sup> *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, 3, 394.

<sup>88</sup> A. M. Stewart, "Robert Wedderburn's feu-charter", *Aberdeen Univ. Rev.* 43 (1970) 407.

<sup>89</sup> Scottish Catholic Archives, Edinburgh, Blairs Charters, no. 65; transcript in NLS, Adv. 29.4.2, Vol. 6, fo 90v.

<sup>90</sup> A group of documents of 1580-83 is in SRO, RD 1/19, fo 267; 1/20/2, fos 415-17.



One man must first be cleared out of the way. John Simmer was made vicar pensionary of Abdie in 1561 and held altarages in the local church of Newburgh. These benefices were not vacant by his death until 1584<sup>91</sup> but there is no evidence that he served in the Kirk.

Lindores supplied several ministers. William Simson was minister of Abdie, an appropriated church, in 1561 and receiving his stipend from the abbot of Lindores;<sup>92</sup> in 1563 he was minister of Abdie and Dunbog. The identification is pretty certain. The two kirks are within three miles of each other and of Lindores: William Simson the monk is found in 1561-65 and then disappears,<sup>93</sup> William Simson the minister is found only three miles away in those same years and then disappears.<sup>94</sup>

The other three ministers all lived and worked into the seventeenth century. Andrew Forester (or Foster) first appears in 1552, the only one of the four who signs before 1560, and was minister at Dysart and Wemyss in 1563-72. These were 15 miles at least from Lindores but it is undoubtedly the same man: in July 1565 Forester the monk made an agreement with the abbot of Lindores for annual money and victual instead of his portion, habit silver and yard,<sup>95</sup> and three months later Forester the minister intimated the assignment of money and victual to him by the abbot of Lindores.<sup>96</sup> No doubt Forester made the arrangement because of his distance from the abbey.

From 1574 to 1591 he was minister at Falkirk. A man of his name ceases to appear at Dysart when a man of the same name appears at Falkirk. He signed as a conventual of Lindores in 1580-82 and was explicitly called minister of Falkirk and monk of Lindores in 1588 when his pension was guaranteed to his sons after his death.<sup>97</sup> He was transferred to Kippen in the early 1590s, was presented to the vicarage and prebend of Kippen in January 1596<sup>98</sup> and died there some time in 1603-05. One son became a minister too.

Stephen Mason was minister of Inch, Logie-Durno and Culsalmond in the Garioch, Aberdeenshire, in 1563-67. He is not found

<sup>91</sup> RSS 6, 783; SRO, CH 4/1/2, fos. 116, 119v, 162.

<sup>92</sup> *The Register of the Kirk-Session of St Andrews*, ed. D. Hay Fleming (SHS, 1887-89) (hereafter *St A. Reg.*), 131-32; Haws, *Clergy*, 2 omits.

<sup>93</sup> *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations* 3, 391; Laing, *Lindores Abbey*, 488.

<sup>94</sup> There is an unreferenced mention of him in 1564 in *Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife*, Abbotsford Club 1837 (hereafter *Fife Synod*), 216, 221, and an insufficiently referenced mention on 18th June 1565 in Scott, *Fasti* 5, 123.

<sup>95</sup> RSS 5, 2561.

<sup>96</sup> Scott, *Fasti* 5, 85.

<sup>97</sup> SRO, PS 1/58, fo 71v; SRO, E 2/14, fo 163v. The tentative identification in Haws, *Clergy* 85 is thus certain.

<sup>98</sup> SRO, PS 1/68, fo 83; SRO, CS 7/167, fo 86v. I have not attempted to resolve the apparent discrepancies in the sources over the date of transfer.

in any Lindores documents apart from those of 1580-83 but the identification is reasonable: it is not a common name, the three kirks were all appropriated to Lindores, and the distance explains the absence of his name from Lindores documents in the early 1560s.<sup>99</sup>

From 1574 he was minister of various groups of kirks, but always including Bethelnie in inland Buchan; for 11 years from 1578 they included Fyvie. In 1614 he was transferred to Slains on the Aberdeenshire coast, where not surprisingly the parishioners complained about being given an old man. He died in 1618, almost 60 years after 1560.

The fourth man is Patrick Galt, first found in a monastic document in 1564.<sup>100</sup> He was minister at Kinglassie and Portmoak in 1563, minister at Abdie and Abernethy in 1567-73, then from 1574 minister of five kirks in the Merse, including Edrom and Duns. The identification is fairly certain. It is not a common name, Kinglassie and Portmoak are only about 12 miles from Lindores, while Abdie and Abernethy are within four miles of each other and of Lindores. Patrick Galt then appears as minister in the Merse just when a minister of the same uncommon name ceases to appear near Lindores.

There is a gap in the records of ministers after 1580 and also some confusion over Duns. Galt's ministry at this period needs to be considered in some detail. Much confusion generally has been caused by failure to realise that for two or three decades after 1560 ministers usually had charge of a group of kirks with readers to assist them; then, as ministers became more plentiful, individual kirks got one of their own. Thus Duns was removed from Galt's charge in 1580, but in January 1583 he was presented to the benefice there.<sup>101</sup> In 1585 and 1586 another man was minister of Duns, with the parsonage and vicarage as his stipend, while Galt was omitted from the lists of ministers. In 1586 Galt was one of several claimants to the benefice.<sup>102</sup> By 1588, however, he was minister of Duns, with parsonage and vicarage for his stipend.<sup>103</sup> He was still in office, though old and infirm, in 1611. By this time two of his sons were also ministers in the same presbytery.

The man presented to the Duns benefice in 1583 and in office as minister of Duns from 1588 is called Gaittis, not Galt. This, coupled with his temporary disappearance from the lists of ministers, would lead one to think that Gaittis was a different man. But in the monastic documents at Lindores in 1580-83 his name likewise appears in this new form. Patrick left descendants in Duns

<sup>99</sup> Cf. *Haws, Clergy*, 294, where he was listed as of unknown antecedents.

<sup>100</sup> Laing, *Lindores Abbey*, 523.

<sup>101</sup> SRO, CH 4/1/2, fo 84v.

<sup>102</sup> SRO, PS 1/54, fo 78v.

<sup>103</sup> The information about his charges and stipend in 1580-88 is taken from SRO, E 47/2-4.

with the name Gaits, including the two sons who were ministers. The standard work on Scottish surnames mentions no instance of the name earlier than Patrick or outside this locality and is at a loss to account for its origin.<sup>104</sup> Patrick 'Galt's career is thus a small contribution to the history of Scottish surnames.

The Lindores community gave several readers to the Kirk. John Mason is only identified as a monk of Lindores by a document mentioning his death. A John Mason was reader at Auchtermuchty and Strathmiglo in 1563 and is almost certainly the same man. Auchtermuchty was a church appropriated to Lindores and about five miles away, Strathmiglo a further two miles on. John Mason the reader died in 1563, while John Mason the monk was dead by 1565.<sup>105</sup>

John Webster is not found as a monk before 1561,<sup>106</sup> in which year a John Webster was exhorter at Collessie, an appropriated church, with a stipend from the abbot of Lindores.<sup>107</sup> From then until 1573 he was exhorter or reader at Collessie and Monimail<sup>108</sup> but does not appear in the lists of 1574. In spite of the very common name identification is reasonable, for the two churches are near each other and only about four miles from Lindores. The last monastic reference to Webster is on 6th September 1568 when he resigned his portion to an outsider for certain cash sums and the community agreed to the transaction.<sup>109</sup>

In passing it should be noted that the John Webster listed as curate of Leslie in Garioch,<sup>110</sup> an appropriated church of Lindores, is not the monk. The two parishes of Leslie have been confused. This John Webster (*alias* Grygstoun) was curate of Leslie in Fife, where his family had a tenement, and it is clear that he was not a monk.<sup>111</sup>

Robert Williamson is found at Lindores from the chapter of 1538 on, and a reader of that name was at Dunbog, Creich and Flisk in 1563-70. Despite the very common name the identification is reasonable, as the three kirks were within three miles of each other and five of the abbey. Williamson is found acting as notary in a monastic document in 1568 when a monk signed with his "hand at the pene led be our brother Robert Williamsone notar publick".<sup>112</sup> He died in office as reader. The register of ministers has the word "deid" against his name, and probably this occurred

<sup>104</sup> G. F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland* (1965 reprint), 291.

<sup>105</sup> *Thirds of Benefices*, 245; *RSS* 5, 2265.

<sup>106</sup> *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations* 3, 391.

<sup>107</sup> *St A. Reg.* 132. The date in Haws, *Clergy*, 44 needs correction.

<sup>108</sup> He was exhorter at Monimail on 30th May 1573 (SRO, CC 8/8/2, fo 341).

<sup>109</sup> SRO, RD 1/11, fo 67; *RSS* 6, 822.

<sup>110</sup> *Haws, Clergy*, 159.

<sup>111</sup> SRO, NP 1/19, nos. 60, 82, 91, 94.

<sup>112</sup> SRO, RD 1/11, fo 67v.



before either Beltane 1570 or November 1571 when new readers respectively began to receive their stipend.<sup>113</sup>

These were three men who did not last long. One who gave extended service was Thomas Wood, found at Lindores in 1552. Again, despite the very common name he can reasonably be identified with Thomas Wood, reader in 1574 at Abdie only two miles away. This was, however, a comparatively unimportant episode in Wood's life.

In 1575 he was presented to the vicarage of St Andrews and was reader there until the 1590s. Identification is explicit, for in 1580 and 1582 he signed as a conventual of Lindores and added "vicar of St Andrews" to his name.<sup>114</sup> This means that the musician of the reformed kirk, Thomas Wood, vicar of St Andrews, was a monk of Lindores. In 1562 Wood started compiling a four-part psalter and canticles, which he continued after taking up permanent residence in St Andrews.<sup>115</sup> We know he was in St Andrews as early in 1565,<sup>116</sup> though this may not have been permanent. Wood wrote often to potential composers, including John Angus, monk of Dunfermline, and finally achieved his task, leaving behind him two sets of four manuscript volumes of words and music (one for each part) and a supplementary volume. Hay Fleming rightly calls the Psalter a monument to the enthusiasm of Thomas Wood, who carried it through.<sup>117</sup> He rendered an inestimable service to the Kirk, for the choice was not really between this and something else but between this and nothing. In September 1592 he was still reader but was dead by 26th October, a few weeks later.<sup>118</sup>

Besides the service given by the three long-lived ministers and Thomas Wood, Lindores helped the new Kirk in an early, critical stage by supply a series of ministers and readers in about ten parishes near the abbey. In fact Moonzie or Auchtermoonzie, about six miles away, was the only parish in the vicinity not served by a monk in the decade after 1560. At Moonzie, however, Gilbert Marshall was reader in 1578-79, and a monk of that name was at Lindores from 1532. By 1578 the monk was at least in late middle age, but given the uncommon name and the pattern at Lindores, identification is still very possible. The monk was alive in 1568<sup>119</sup> but is not found in the community documents of 1580 or thereafter; the reader is not found in 1580 or thereafter either.

As at Coupar Angus and Arbroath, we see the pattern of readers remaining in the abbey and serving churches within easy walking

<sup>113</sup> SRO, E 48/2, fo 25v; Scott, *Fasti* 5, 136 (omitted in Haws, *Clergy*).

<sup>114</sup> SRO, RD 1/19, fo 267v; 1/20/2, fos 416v, 417v. The tentative identification in Haws, *Clergy*, 213 is thus certain.

<sup>115</sup> For his psalter see C. Innes, "An account of the Scottish Psalter of A.D. 1566", *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* 7 (1866-68), 445-58.

<sup>116</sup> *St A. Reg.* 236.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.* 40 n.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.* 726-27; SRO, PS 1/64, fo 139.

<sup>119</sup> SRO, RD 1/11, fo 67v.

or riding distance, perhaps at weekends only. The ministers, however, uprooted themselves and served full-time. Again I suggest that what made a man a reader may have been a less than full commitment. Certainly for Robert Williamson, notary public, it was not lack of education, nor was it for Thomas Wood, a highly skilled academic musician, though he was a special case.

### *Dunfermline*

Numbers are known from 1520. There were 26 that year,<sup>120</sup> 25 in 1539,<sup>121</sup> 27 in 1548,<sup>122</sup> 28 in 1555,<sup>123</sup> 25 in 1559.<sup>124</sup> Fourteen new names appear in the 1540s though only one in the 1550s. In January 1564 22 portions were being distributed;<sup>125</sup> there were still 13 conventuals in 1581<sup>126</sup> and ten in December 1584.<sup>127</sup>

The monks remained a cohesive community after 1560. They negotiated for their portions in 1563 and 1564<sup>128</sup> refused to sign the commendator's documents in 1577 and the early 1580s,<sup>129</sup> resisted the local minister and made agreements for their portions in 1584 and 1587.<sup>130</sup> A Jesuit in 1580 reported that priests in Dunfermline, by whom he seems to mean the monks, were reciting their office *privatim*;<sup>131</sup> more evidence is needed before the story can be accepted but the Dunfermline situation does not rule it out.

We have to distinguish between holding a benefice and serving in the church. Alexander Aitken, the subprior in 1560, was in arrears with his third of the vicarage of Kinglassie in 1568-72, which shows he was not working there or he would have kept his third legally. In 1572 the vicarage was given to the local reader but Aitken was once more in possession at the time of his death in 1590.<sup>132</sup> He also had an altarage in Dunfermline<sup>133</sup> and his monk's portion, augmented by the community in 1583 to sustain him in

<sup>120</sup> SRO, GD 93/44 (signatures omitted in *Munro Writs*, 44), with James Lawson found in 1508 (*Dunf. Recs.* 170) and 1521 (*ibid.* 174), and John Spendlove found in 1494 (*ibid.* 50) and 1544 (NLS, Chrs. 6105).

<sup>121</sup> SRO, RH 6/1197A; *Laing Chrs.* 431, with the addition of John Spendlove.

<sup>122</sup> SRO, RH 6/1432B, (where John Durie signs twice), with six men found in 1544 (*Yester Writs*, 618) and 1555.

<sup>123</sup> SRO, RH 6/1657, with five found in 1548 and 1564 (see below).

<sup>124</sup> SRO, RH 6/1769; NLS, Chrs. 6142, with four found in 1548 and 1564.

<sup>125</sup> SRO, RD 1/7, fo 66v.

<sup>126</sup> *RPC* 3, 399, with those found in 1584 and John Baxter (see below).

<sup>127</sup> SRO, CH4/1/2, fo 119v.

<sup>128</sup> *RSS* 5, 3037; see n. 125.

<sup>129</sup> SRO, CS 7/66, fo 399v; *RPC* 3, 399, 642-43, 649-50.

<sup>130</sup> SRO, CH 4/1/2, fo 174v; see n. 127.

<sup>131</sup> W. J. Anderson, "Narratives of the Scottish Reformation, I", *Innes Review* 7 (1956) 31, 47.

<sup>132</sup> SRO, PS 1/60, fo 126v.

<sup>133</sup> SRO, PS 1/61, fo 57v; SRO, E 2/15, fo 64v.

fitting estate despite exorbitant prices.<sup>134</sup> Clearly he was in a privileged position and taking money away from the Kirk.

An even clearer case was William Lumsden. He was sacristan of Dunfermline, vicar of Dunfermline and parson of Cleish,<sup>135</sup> and in 1564 was in arrears with his third of the vicarage and parsonage. In 1569 he was appointed coadjutor and administrator to the infant commendator of Kelso.<sup>136</sup> Lumsden belonged to a local landed family and was undoubtedly in with the powers-that be.<sup>137</sup> He too kept money from the Kirk and gave it no service.

Another pluralist benefice holder was John Angus. He was elemosinar of Dunfermline from the 1560s and preceptor of Dunfermline hospital; in the 1590s he still enjoyed the revenue.<sup>138</sup> The community presented him to the vicarage of Inverkeithing in 1562<sup>139</sup> and for the next three years he was in arrears for his third. In 1565 he was presented to a prebend in the Chapel Royal, Stirling, was soon in arrears with his third and held the benefice until his death in 1597.<sup>140</sup> He clearly did well out of church revenues.

And yet he rendered the Kirk a service perhaps more useful than pastoral ministry, for he composed music for psalms and canticles in Thomas Wood's psalter. Angus was precentor of Dunfermline in 1552<sup>141</sup> and the reason for receiving the prebend may have been his musical ability; certainly his successor in the prebend was a musician.<sup>142</sup> The editor of the Metrical Psalter in 1635 called him "one of the primest musicians that ever the kingdome had" and Thomas Wood described him as "gude and meike John Angus".<sup>143</sup>

Various monks served as readers near the abbey. Alexander Steven was a monk from 1555, was reader at Beath about five miles away in 1574 under the strong-minded minister of Dunfermline, David Ferguson, and was presented to the vicarage of nearby Dalgety the following year. The identification is certain, for Ferguson tried to excommunicate him for signing certain documents about Dunfermline lands as one of the convent. The Privy Council ordered Steven to be reponed as reader in November 1579<sup>144</sup> but in the register of stipends the Beath readership stayed

<sup>134</sup> SRO, RD 1/22, fo 56; SRO, E 2/15, fos 62v, 97; SRO, PS 1/61, fo 138.

<sup>135</sup> SRO, E 48/1/1, fo 84.

<sup>136</sup> RSS 6, 616.

<sup>137</sup> W. Stephen, *History of Inverkeithing and Rosyth* (1921), 160-61.

<sup>138</sup> RMS 4, 2514; SRO, E 14/2, fo 82v; SRO, CH 4/1/2, fo 122; SRO, PS 1/59, fo 15; NLS, Chrs. 6345.

<sup>139</sup> RSS 5, 2064.

<sup>140</sup> RSS 5, 1884; SRO, PS 1/60, fo 12, 12v; 1/69, fo 65v.

<sup>141</sup> RMS 4, 777.

<sup>142</sup> SRO, PS 1/70, fo 197v.

<sup>143</sup> N. Livingston, *The Scottish Metrical Psalter of A.D. 1635* (1864), 49; C. Innes, 447-57.

<sup>144</sup> RPC 3, 209-10, 237.



in a state of suspended animation.<sup>145</sup> Steven did not resume office though he continued to sign at Dunfermline until 1588.<sup>146</sup> He is also found as tutor of an altar in the abbey church in 1574.<sup>147</sup>

John Henderson was a monk from 1548. In 1575 he was presented to the vicarage of Cleish about six miles away and became reader at once; the Crown presentation calls him monk of Dunfermline. In October 1573 John Henderson, master of the school within the abbey of Dunfermline, had appealed to the Privy Council against wrongful dismissal by David Ferguson and the archbishop of St Andrews, and the appeal was upheld. The schoolmaster is not called a monk but did claim that he had professed the Kirk.<sup>148</sup> He may be the same man, though it is of course a very common name. Henderson seems to have ceased to be reader in 1580;<sup>149</sup> he was collector in the abbey the following year but died soon after.<sup>150</sup>

In 1578 David Ferguson had three readers under him: Alexander Steven at Beath, Master John Baxter at Carnock and William Smith at Dunfermline itself. It seems reasonable to identify John Baxter as the monk of that name who is found at Dunfermline from 1548. This is John Baxter, junior, to be distinguished from John Baxter, senior, who was at Dunfermline in 1520, was prior from 1543 and is not found after 1569.<sup>151</sup> (A recent writer on Dunfermline, not realising there were two monks of the name, made the second into the prior's illegitimate son.)<sup>152</sup> Carnock is only three miles away; Baxter the reader was in office in 1578-80 but not when the lists resume in 1585, Baxter the monk signed until August 1583 but was dead by November 1584. Further weight is given to the identification by reference to the portion of the deceased Master John Baxter at the same time.<sup>153</sup>

The third man, William Smith, was reader at Dunfermline for 30 years but is unaccountably not given his rightful place in Scott's *Fasti* and so is omitted from other works as well. Though there could hardly be a more common name it seems reasonable to identify him with the monk William Smith, who was at Dunfermline in 1548 and was still receiving his portion in 1587. The reader was in office from 1576, succeeded to the altarage vacant by Alexander Aitken's death<sup>154</sup> and served until 1607,<sup>155</sup> outliving David Ferguson, first Father of the Kirk.

<sup>145</sup> SRO, E 47/2, 1579, fo 37; 1580, fo 39.

<sup>146</sup> *Yester Writs*, 863.

<sup>147</sup> SRO, E 14/2, fo 182.

<sup>148</sup> RPC 2, 288-89.

<sup>149</sup> SRO, E 47/2, 1580, fo 39.

<sup>150</sup> RPC 3, 399; *Fife Synod*, 236; SRO, CH 4/1/2, fo 72v.

<sup>151</sup> NLS, Chrs. 6104; SRO, RH 6/2149.

<sup>152</sup> Webster, *Dunfermline Abbey*, 77-78.

<sup>153</sup> NLS, Chrs. 6754; SRO, RD 1/22, fo 56; SRO, CH 4/1/2, fos 116, 116v, 121.

<sup>154</sup> SRO, PS 1/61, fo 57v; SRO, E 2/15, fo 64v.

<sup>155</sup> SRO, E 47/1-9.

Quite a striking pattern emerges at Dunfermline: four men from this closely knit community serving as readers in nearby churches, three of them under the minister of Dunfermline. None of them begins to serve until the 1570s (though an unreferenced nineteenth-century work does list Steven under 1569)<sup>156</sup> and one disputes with the minister through putting the interests of his community first. It raises again the question of the motivation of monks who became readers.

The monk Thomas Jamieson is not the minister of that name in Largo and Newburn, for the early date of the minister's death rules it out.<sup>157</sup> Dunfermline did, however, produce one minister, the celebrated John Durie, a monk since 1548. He seems unlikely to be the John Durie who was exhorter at Parton in Galloway in 1563,<sup>158</sup> especially since the monk was repledged to the court of Dunfermline regality in October of that year for his part in a crime of violence in Edinburgh.<sup>159</sup> His career in the Kirk is too well known to need outlining here. From being an exhorter at Restalrig in 1567, he became a minister in 1570 and from 1574 was one of the ministers in Edinburgh. After getting into trouble with the civil authorities for his outspokenness, he was rusticated to Montrose and was minister there until his death in 1600. It is rather ironic that the only monk so far mentioned whose education aroused adverse comment was not a reader but John Durie, said to be "of small literature".<sup>160</sup> It may have been this or the violent incident in 1563 which hindered his being a minister until 1570.

This zealous, outspoken man did not sever his connection with Dunfermline: he signed as a member of the convent in 1574,<sup>161</sup> was cited as one in 1577, and references to him as a former monk of Dunfermline are frequent and explicit.<sup>162</sup> In July 1577 the commendator and community granted an annual pension to him and his son in place of his portion, habit silver and other dues;<sup>163</sup> he had to take action occasionally about non-payment but was able to make it over in 1593 to his son, who was still receiving it after 1600.<sup>164</sup> All three of his sons became ministers.

With Dunfermline the tally of the monasteries dealt with in

<sup>156</sup> *Fife Synod*, 235.

<sup>157</sup> SRO, DI 53/1, unfoliated, 21.5.1580; *Yester Writs*, 863.

<sup>158</sup> *Haws, Clergy*, 196, 268 so identifies him.

<sup>159</sup> *Pitcairn Trials*, 1, pt. 1, 436\*.

<sup>160</sup> *The Diary of Mr James Melvill, 1556-1601* (Bannatyne Club, 1829), 60.

<sup>161</sup> SRO, GD 28/776 (forename wrongly given as James in *Yester Writs*, 776).

<sup>162</sup> SRO, CS 7/66, fo 399v; SRO, CH 4/1/2, fos 30, 119v, 174v.

<sup>163</sup> *Yester Writs*, 799; *RMS* 4, 2959.

<sup>164</sup> *Yester Writs*, 816, 871, 920, 971, 994. The son is sometimes named here as John but the original always has Josua (SRO, GD 28/816, 871, 920).

this paper is complete. The picture presented differs in each, and these are merely a selection; the picture in other houses would no doubt be different too. Yet certain features recur: readers tend to remain in or near the monastery, ministers to be much more mobile, both as regards going a good distance and being transferred to other charges fairly late in life. Before going away many, perhaps all, converted their monk's portion into a more practical form of pension, and even at a distance they often continued to sign or be cited as conventuals of the monastery they had long ago left. And the historian is glad they did, or the process of identifying them would be much more conjectural.



## APPENDIX: Note on sources

The original lists of ministers and readers are as follows: for 1567, with later emendations, in Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh (SRO), E 48/2, printed rather confusingly with additions for 1576 in *Reg. Min.*; for 1574, in National Library of Scotland (NLS), Adv. 17.1.4, printed in summary in *Wodrow Misc.* 319-96; for 1576 and after, in SRO, E 47/1-10. Information for 1561-72 is also found in *Thirds of Benefices*, ed. G. Donaldson (SHS, 1949).

### Key to sources in the Scottish Record Office

CC	8/8	Edinburgh Testaments.
CH	4/1	Register of Presentations to Benefices.
	8	Miscellaneous Ecclesiastical Records.
CS	7	Register of Acts and Decrees.
DI	53	Register of Hornings and Inhibitions, Fife.
E	2	Register of Signatures in Comptrollery.
	14	Abbreviates of Feu Charters of Kirklands.
	46	Accounts of sub-collectors of Thirds of Benefices.
	47	Registers of Assignation of Stipends.
	48/1	Books of Assumption of Benefices.
	48/2	Register of Ministers and Stipends.
GD		Gifts and Deposits.
	1	Miscellaneous.
	3	Eglinton.
	28	Yester.
	45	Dalhousie.
	79	King James VI Hospital, Perth.
	93	Munro of Foulis.
	112	Breadalbane.
	114	Rutherford of Edgerston.
	150	Morton.
NP	1/19	Notarial Protocol Book of Thomas Dalrymple (Fife).
	1/196	Notarial Protocol Book of Robert Lawson (formerly in NLS, Adv. MSS, Riddell Collection).
PS	1	Privy Seal Register.
RD	1	Register of Deeds.
RH	6	Register House Charters.

### Key to sources in the Manuscripts Department of the National Library of Scotland

Adv.	17.1.4	Register of Assignation of Stipends, 1574.
	29.4.2	Collections of George Henry Hutton on Scottish religious houses.
Chrs.	6001-6836	Halkett of Pitfirrane writs.

